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BLACK AND WHITE MARINE
SQUAD LEADERS' PERCEPTIONS
OF RACIALLY MIXED SQUADS

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Abstract

This paper reports black and white marine squad leaders' perceptions of black, Puerto Rican, and white squad members on several dimensions. Results indicate significant differences in the actual and expected frequencies with which white squad leaders reported they reprimanded, praised, and felt their black, Puerto Rican, and white subordinates were uncertain or undecided about what they were to do. Most differences were traced to reported differences between black and white rather than Puerto Rican subordinates. These results suggest that white leaders may be keeping a certain "distance" from their black subordinates and handling them with special care. There were few observed differences between the responses of black and white squad leaders about their Puerto Rican and/or white subordinates.

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Until recently most social psychological research on interracial relationships has been concerned with the study of prejudice on the basis of inferences from verbal data rather than actual behavior. In a review of the literature on race and ethnic relations, Harding, Proshansky, Kutner, & Chein (1969) found that approximately eight times as much space was devoted to studies of attitudes as compared with studies of overt behavior.

Attitude Studies

Recent literature reviews conducted by Katz (1970), Amir (1969), and Pettigrew (1969) generally agree with Allport's (1954) Contact Hypothesis regarding ethnic prejudice. This well known hypothesis, implicitly assumed in many desegregation plans, states that intergroup contacts involving shared interests or goals, equal status of participants, and normative support tend to reduce prejudice. This hypothesis has received tentative support from studies in various environmental settings such as: the military (Stouffer, Suchman, DeVinney, Star, & Williams, 1949); department stores (Harding & Hogrefe, 1952); housing projects (Deutsch & Collins, 1951; Wilner, Walkley, & Cook, 1955); and experimental settings (Burnstein & McRae, 1962). These studies generally suggest that cooperative, equal status contact with Negroes may bring about favorable, but limited change in attitudes among whites. This statement must be qualified, however, as a few studies have shown no change or no consistent

change in attitudes among children experiencing interracial contacts in summer camps (Mussen, 1950; Yarrow, 1958) or in elementary schools (Shaw, 1970; Carithers, 1970). Carithers, (1970) concluded from his review of desegregated schools that interracial contact, per se, will not bring about increased tolerance or acceptance. In general, the equal status hypothesis has received impressive although not completely consistent support as a means of bringing about changes in white attitudes towards blacks.

An important omission in the above studies is their failure to deal with the effects of contact on black attitudes. In view of the apparent militancy of some blacks, we can no longer assume that black attitudes are fixed or favorable.

Behavior in Work Groups

Only a few studies have dealt with behavior in biracial work groups. These studies were concerned with communication by white to Negro members (Burnstein & McRae, 1962; Katz, Goldston & Benjamin, 1958; Cohen 1969; Katz & Benjamin, 1960; Jaffee & Whitacre, 1969; Richards, 1970). Regardless of the relative level of success of the biracial groups, generally whites initiated more communicative acts, tended to talk more, and exercised more social influence than Negroes. Katz & Cohen (1962) and Katz and Benjamin (1960) found that the introduction of a shared goal (group bonus condition) ★ did produce a greater amount of cooperative behavior, but did not affect the tendency of white subjects to avoid talking to Negroes on some tasks, or the tendency of Negro subjects to prefer talking to whites. Katz & Cohen (1962) found further that the introduction of a greater degree of role equality in the experimental condition, even though working toward a shared goal, seemed to negatively affect attitudes of white subjects. On a final questionnaire, these ★

whites downgraded the problem solving ability of Negro partners and were less willing to continue the working relationships than subjects in a control group. Burnstein & McRae (1962) found that whites evaluated a Negro partner more favorably when groups received failure feedback than they did after success feedback.

Another possible area of difficulty for studies involving a working relationship is that attitudinal biases of white raters may result in lower performance evaluations of black supervisors. Cox and Krumbolts (1958) and DeJung and Kaplan (1962) showed that racial bias existed in peer ratings among military personnel. In both experiments, white and black soldiers received significantly ~~★~~ higher ratings from members of their own race than from members of the other race.

The results above generally suggest that the cooperative goal attainment hypothesis of Allport (1954), Deutsch & Collins (1951), and Sherif (1958) is based on an oversimplified model of race relations. Katz (1970) suggests that an approach is needed that takes full account of the cognitive predispositions that Negroes and whites bring to contact situations. This would include not only racial attitudes and stereotypes, but also assumptions about the motives of Negroes as well as whites in given racial encounters.

Leadership Opportunities

King and Bass (1970) have surveyed the literature and found a relative absence of Negroes in leadership positions in the military, in business, and in professional sports. Further review of the literature supports this finding. They have concluded that this absence amounts to an open indictment of the policies and prejudices of social institutions in this country.

Despite general satisfaction with military integration from most quarters, the problem of rank and occupational status of Negroes serving in the Armed Forces is a major concern of Pentagon officials (Stillman, 1969). As of 1970, while 11 percent of the American population was Negro, 10 percent of the

military was Negro but the officer corps consisted of only 2 percent Negro (BLS, 1970). This distorted pyramid of Negro class structure with a very narrow vertex of people in leadership positions and a very broad base of less skilled people is also a problem among noncommissioned officers (Stillman, 1969; Moskos, 1967).

In the business world the opportunities for black leadership are no better. Unterman (1971) concluded that it is virtually impossible to find one successful minority management program in the entire nation. Faced with a lack of understanding of the social, psychological, and economic differences between blacks and whites, some companies have simply thrown in the towel and are doing little or nothing in the way of minority-group management programs (Unterman, 1971). The difficulties of black supervisors fitting into the white man's business world were highlighted by Travaglio, Sloan & Walker (1971), Gooede (1970), and the National Industrial Conference Board (1966). White leaders are also having trouble in managing black subordinates in mixed and all black work groups (King and Bass, 1970).

It is apparent then that prejudice, alone, is not the only significant ~~x~~ determinant of the disproportionate absence of blacks from positions of responsibility and leadership. Deficiencies in early formal education and the impact of matriarchal family structure may be among other factors which contribute to the conditions described above.

Leadership Studies

Studies of blacks in leadership positions have generally been limited to such areas as temporary social settings (Winter, 1971; Fenelon, 1966); neighborhood opportunity centers (Delbecq & Kaplan, 1968) and experimenter or test administrators (Katz, Robert, & Robinson, 1965; Lefcourt & Ladwig, 1965; Battle & Rotter, 1963). These studies generally show that in black-white

interactions, the black has a higher expectancy of failure, shows less self-assertion, lower self-esteem, is more anxious and less efficient than when working among other Negroes, and talks to whites more than to other blacks. Winter (1971) is the only one who found an expression of confidence and aggressiveness among informal black-male leaders. This occurred in self-analytic groups of college students. Kockman (1969) found that "rapping" skills are a well documented source of prestige and influence within the Negro subculture.

The scarcity of black subjects, even for laboratory studies, has constrained research effort. Recently, Katz (1970) concluded that this scarcity of research concerning black-white interactions has seriously limited our knowledge. Richards (1970) did conduct a limited study involving black and white supervisors with white subordinates, but without black subordinates. The interaction differences found included:

- a) lower human-relations and administrative technical skills of black supervisors.
- b) fewer suggestions by black supervisors to subordinates.
- c) less frequent speech interaction between white subordinates and black supervisors than between white subordinates and white supervisors.

The lack of knowledge about actual differences between black and white intergroup interaction and leadership patterns in job settings may have allowed emotion more than objective data to influence many of our nation's employment policies.

In summary, most social psychological studies have related to white attitudes toward blacks rather than actual behavior toward blacks. And the few studies of black attitudes or behavior which are available have not

referred to comparative attitudes or behavior of whites in similar task settings. Bass and King (1970) and Katz (1970) state that much of the research about black-white interaction prior to the mid 1960's may have little relevance to understanding current relationships. There is an obvious gap in our existing knowledge of the differences between black and white attitudes and behaviors. Triandis (1971) has called for a concentrated study of the actual differences between blacks and whites in the interaction of the job setting.

Some limited data which relate to this need became available as a by-product of a study undertaken for other purposes. The remainder of this report will be devoted to a discussion of the "sub-study" which these data made possible.

Background to Study

Two of the authors (Fox and Hill) undertook a seven month longitudinal study of leadership effectiveness in the U.S. Marines Corps. The overall study which consisted of thirteen separate reporting periods, attempted to measure the perceptions which supervisors and subordinates had concerning a large number of attitudinal and behavioral variables as well as to determine if these perceptions changed over the duration of the study.

Certain questions (see Appendix A) from the larger study generated data which relate to the perceptions that black and white supervisors have of their black, white, and Puerto Rican subordinates. These data permitted the testing of the hypotheses outlined below:

Hypotheses

1. There are no significant differences between the frequencies with which white supervisors report that they reprimand or call down their black, white, and Puerto Rican subordinates.

1a.* There are no significant differences between the frequencies with which black supervisors report that they reprimand or call down their white and Puerto Rican subordinates.

1b.* There are no significant differences between the frequencies with which black supervisors in comparison with white supervisors report that they reprimand or call down their white and Puerto Rican subordinates.

2. There are no significant differences between the frequencies with which white supervisors report that they praise their black, white, and Puerto Rican subordinates.

2a. There are no significant differences between the frequencies with which black supervisors report that they praise their white and Puerto Rican subordinates.

2b. There are no significant differences between the frequencies with which black supervisors in comparison with white supervisors report that they praise their white and Puerto Rican subordinates.

3. There are no significant differences between the frequencies with which white supervisors report that their black, white, and Puerto Rican subordinates were uncertain or undecided about what they were to do in their jobs.

3a. There are no significant differences between the frequencies with which black supervisors report that their white and Puerto Rican subordinates were uncertain or undecided about what they were to do in their jobs.

3b. There are no significant differences between the frequencies with which black supervisors in comparison with white supervisors report that their white and Puerto Rican subordinates were uncertain or undecided about what they were to do in their jobs.

*Note: Part "a" and "b" hypotheses were formulated due to the fact that black supervisors (squad leaders) did not have black subordinates (squad members).

4. There are no significant differences between the frequencies with which white supervisors report that their black, white, and Puerto Rican subordinates are trying to avoid failure (playing it safe) in contrast to looking for sound opportunities to show what they could do.

4a. There are no significant differences between the frequencies with which black supervisors report that their white and Puerto Rican subordinates are trying to avoid failure (playing it safe) in contrast to looking for sound opportunities to show what they could do.

4b. There are no significant differences between the frequencies with which black supervisors in comparison with white supervisors report that their white and Puerto Rican subordinates are trying to avoid failure (playing it safe) in contrast to looking for sound opportunities to show what they could do.

5. There are no significant differences between the "getting along with subordinates" scores reported by white supervisors for their black, white, and Puerto Rican subordinates.

5a. There are no significant differences between the "getting along with subordinates" scores reported by black supervisors for their white and Puerto Rican subordinates.

5b. There are no significant differences between the "getting along with subordinates" scores reported by black supervisors in comparison with white supervisors for their white and Puerto Rican subordinates.

6. There are no significant differences between the "how well I understand my subordinate and his needs" scores reported by white supervisors for their black, white, and Puerto Rican subordinates.

6a. There are no significant differences between the "how well I understand my subordinate and his needs" scores reported by black supervisors for their white and Puerto Rican subordinates.

6b. There are no significant differences between the "how well I understand my subordinate and his needs" scores reported by black supervisors in comparison with white supervisors for their white and Puerto Rican subordinates.

7. There are no significant differences between the performance ratings reported by white supervisors for their black, white, and Puerto Rican subordinates.

7a. There are no significant differences between the performance ratings reported by black supervisors for their white and Puerto Rican subordinates.

7b. There are no significant differences between the performance ratings reported by black supervisors in comparison with white supervisors for their white and Puerto Rican subordinates.

Instrument Pretest

The authors pretested the instrument (see Appendix A) by having subjects from the target population read and comment upon the instrument several times. When subjects' comments indicated any ambiguity or inappropriateness with regard to a specific item, it was corrected on the spot. The final form of the questionnaire was reviewed by subjects' superiors who agreed that the finalized items should be relevant and understandable to the target population.

Subjects

The target population consisted of two rifle companies from a Marine training battalion based in the southeastern portion of the United States. Each company was divided into three platoons, and each of these was subsequently divided into three squads.

Since the leaders of each of these squads were considered supervisors for purposes of this study, it was theoretically possible to have 18 squad leaders at any one time. The very nature of the subject population and its unique mission as well as periodic fluctuations in manpower levels necessitated rather frequent modifications in squad leaders. Thus, over the course of the study, thirty individuals held the position of squad leader at one time or another; seven of these were black, 22 were white and one was Puerto Rican. The lone Puerto Rican squad leader's responses were excluded from this analysis.

The period of time which the subjects served as squad leaders as well as their fortitude in completing the questionnaires were important effects on the data to be presented. Only four subjects, one black and three whites, served as squad leaders for the entire length of this study. Since one of the 18 squads was never made operational, 26 subjects held the position, ? squad leader, for some period of time in the thirteen remaining squads. Thus, the data reported reflect the perceptions of some leaders more heavily than others. The tendency of some squad leaders to report more frequently than others, as well as the fact that squad size varied over the length of the study also resulted in a heavier weight being automatically assigned to the perceptions of some leaders rather than others.

Members of the 17 rifle squads were considered subordinates for the purpose of this study. Theoretically, each squad consisted of 13 members but frequent fluctuations in manning levels and the fact that these squads were seldom staffed to full strength, resulted in a smaller number of subordinates than anticipated. This sample was reduced further by the decision to exclude those subordinates for whom complete personal data concerning age, length of

service, length of time in squad, length of time in present MOS, and combat service were not available. This reduced the sample to 138 subordinates. When these subjects were separated according to race, there were 87 whites, 35 blacks and 16 Puerto Ricans. Since these subjects spent varying times in their squads and since squad leaders reported more frequently on some members than they did on others, the total number of responses upon which this analysis is based was 591.

RESULTS

This section reports the results of the testing of the seven primary hypotheses previously set forth. Data relating to Hypothesis I will be discussed first, those relating to 1a, second, and those relating to 1b third. This same pattern will be followed in presenting data for the remaining hypotheses.¹

Reprimanding

Question 1 asks how many times the squad leader reprimanded each man using the following response categories: never, once, 2 or 3 times, 4 or 5 times, several times and many times.

¹Tests of chi square were used for data relating to Hypotheses I - 4, due to the non-parametric character of these data. When cell frequencies were inadequate, then two or more categories were collapsed into one; for example, the "one or more times" category in Table 1a represents data from 5 categories (once, 2 or 3 times, 4 or 5 times, several times, and many times). In situations with only one degree of freedom, chi square tends to be too large and should be adjusted by "correction for continuity" via the following:

$$\chi^2 = \sum_{\text{all cells}} \frac{(|O_i - E_i| - 1/2)^2}{E_i} \quad \text{where}$$

O_i = observed cell frequency
 E_i = expected cell frequency

Such adjustments were made where appropriate.

(continued on next page)

Table 1 reveals a significant difference ($\chi^2=14.67$, $df=4$) in the actual and expected frequencies with which white squad leaders reported they reprimanded their black, Puerto Rican, and white squad members. Separate chi square tests were run between the leaders' responses about blacks and whites (Table 1-1), blacks and Puerto Ricans (Table 1-2), Puerto Ricans and whites (Table 1-3) to determine the source of the variation. These paired comparisons indicate that the difference arose because white squad leaders gave proportionately more reprimands to whites than to blacks; no significance appeared when responses to blacks and Puerto Ricans or Puerto Ricans and whites were compared. Inspection of Table 1-1 shows that white leaders used the "never" category for white subordinates less than expected (143 to 161 times) and the "two or more category" more than expected (107 to 92). We see just the opposite pattern used with black subordinates. White leaders used the "never" category more frequently and the "once" and "two or more times" categories less frequently than expected.

Additional analyses indicate that black squad leaders did not differ in the actual versus expected frequencies with which they reprimanded their Puerto Rican and white subordinates (Table 1a) nor was there any differences in the actual versus expected frequencies with which black as compared with white squad leaders reprimanded either whites (Table 1b-1) or Puerto Ricans (Table 1b-2). Thus, the only difference in reprimanding patterns was that white leaders reprimanded whites more often and blacks less frequently than was expected.

(continuation of footnote)

One asterisk by the chi square value under each table indicates that the differences of actual from expected were significant at the 5 percent level; two asterisks, the 1 percent level; and three asterisks, at the .1 percent level. Data relating to hypotheses 5-7 were tested with t tests using the same asterisk significance level code.

TABLE 1: Frequency With Which White Squad Leaders Reported They Reprimanded Their Black, Puerto Rican, and White Members

	Squad Members						
Categories	Black		Puerto Rican		White		Totals
	Expected	Actual	Expected	Actual	Expected	Actual	
Never	105.86	126	21.70	20	161.44	143	289
Once	34.07	28	6.98	10	51.95	55	93
Two or More Times	60.07	46	12.32	11	91.61	107	164
Totals		200		41		305	546

$$\chi^2 = 14.67^{**}$$

$$df = 4$$

TABLE 1-1: Frequency With Which White Squad Leaders Reported They Reprimanded Their Black and White Squad Members

Squad Members					
Categories	Black		White		Totals
	Expected	Actual	Expected	Actual	
Never	106.53	126	162.47	143	269
Once	32.87	28	50.13	55	83
Two or More Times	60.59	46	92.41	107	153
Totals		200		305	505

$$\chi^2 = 12.90^{**}$$

$$df = 2$$

TABLE 1-2: Frequency With Which White Squad Leaders Reported They Reprimanded Their Black and Puerto Rican Squad Members

	Squad Members				
Categories	Black		PR		Totals
	Expected	Actual	Expected	Actual	
Never	121.2	126	24.8	20	146
Once	31.5	28	6.5	10	38
Two or More	47.3	46	9.7	11	57
Totals		200		41	241

$$\chi^2 = 3.6$$

$$df = 2$$

TABLE 1-3: Frequency With Which White Squad Leaders Reported They Reprimanded Their Puerto Rican and White Squad Members

Squad Members					
Categories	PR		White		Totals
	Expected	Actual	Expected	Actual	
Never	19.3	20	143.7	143	163
Once	7.7	10	57.3	55	65
Two or More	14.0	11	104.0	107	118
Totals		41		305	346

$$\chi^2 = 1.51$$

$$df = 2$$

TABLE 1a: Frequency With Which Black Squad Leaders Reported They Reprimanded Their Puerto Rican and White Squad Members

Categories	Squad Members				Totals
	Puerto Rican		White		
	Expected	Actual	Expected	Actual	
Never	6.36	7	15.64	15	22
One or More Times	6.64	6	16.36	17	23
Totals		13		32	45

$$\chi^2 = .008$$

$$df = 1$$

TABLE 1b-1: Frequency With Which Black and White Squad Leaders Reported They Reprimanded Their White Squad Members

Categories	Squad Leaders				Totals
	Black		White		
	Expected	Actual	Expected	Actual	
Never	15.0	15	143.0	143	158
One or More	17.0	17	162.0	162	179
Totals		32		305	337

$$\chi^2 = 0.00$$

$$df = 1$$

TABLE 1b-2: Frequency With Which Black and White Squad Leaders Reported They Reprimanded Their Puerto Rican Squad Members

Squad Leaders					
Categories	Black		White		Totals
	Expected	Actual	Expected	Actual	
Never	6.5	7	20.5	20	27
One or More	6.5	6	20.5	21	27
Totals		13		41	54

$$\chi^2 = 0.00$$

$$df = 1$$

Praising

Question 2 asks how many times the squad leader praised each man using the following response categories: never, once, two or three times, 4 or 5 times, several times, and many times. Table 2 reveals a significant difference ($\chi^2=32.24$, $df=6$) in the actual and expected frequencies with which white squad leaders reported they praised their black, Puerto Rican, and white squad members. Paired comparisons indicated that differences arose because white squad leaders differentiated significantly in the actual versus expected frequencies which they praised blacks versus whites (Table 2-1) and Puerto Ricans versus whites (Table 2-3); there was no difference in their responses to blacks versus Puerto Ricans.

Table 2-1 shows that the leaders reported they "never" praised blacks more than would be expected (111 to 87 times) while praising them less frequently than expected. The opposite pattern was found with whites who were praised more frequently than expected. Although there was a significant difference in the frequency with which white leaders praised their Puerto Rican and white squad members, the pattern was not consistent (Table 2-3). It appears that the difference occurred because a larger number of Puerto Ricans than was expected were singled out for praise "more than three times."

Black squad leaders did not differentiate in the actual versus expected frequencies with which they praised their Puerto Rican and white squad members (Table 2a).

When we compare praise frequencies reported by black squad leaders with those reported by white squad leaders for their white (Table 2b-1) and Puerto Rican (Table 2b-2) subordinates, we find that white squad leaders were more generous than expected in giving praise to white subordinates but no difference occurred in the leaders' praise of Puerto Rican squad members.

TABLE 2: Frequency With Which White Squad Leaders Reported They Praised Their Black, Puerto Rican and White Squad Members

Squad Members

Categories	Black		Puerto Rican		White		Totals
	Expected	Actual	Expected	Actual	Expected	Actual	
Never	86.24	111	17.68	17	131.08	107	235
Once	37.06	34	7.60	5	56.34	62	101
Two or Three Times	61.28	42	12.56	11	93.15	114	167
More Than Three Times	15.41	13	3.16	8	23.43	21	42
Totals		200		41		304	545

$$\chi^2 = 32.24***$$

$$df = 6$$

TABLE 2-1: Frequency With Which White Squad Leaders Reported They Praised Their Black and White Squad Members

Squad Members

Categories	Black		White		Totals
	Expected	Actual	Expected	Actual	
Never	86.51	111	131.49	107	218
Once	38.10	34	57.90	62	96
Two or Three Times	61.90	42	94.10	114	156
More Than Three Times	13.49	13	20.51	21	34
Totals		200		304	504

$$\chi^2 = 22.86***$$

$$df = 3$$

TABLE 2-2: Frequency With Which White Squad Leaders Reported They Praised Their Black and Puerto Rican Squad Members

Categories	Squad Members				Totals
	Black		PR		
	Expected	Actual	Expected	Actual	
Never	106.2	111	21.8	17	128
Once	32.4	34	6.6	5	39
Two or Three	44.0	42	9.0	11	53
More Than Three	17.4	13	3.6	8	21
Totals		200		41	241

$$\chi^2 = 4.20$$

$$df = 3$$

TABLE 2-3: Frequency With Which White Squad Leaders Reported They Praised Their Puerto Rican and White Squad Members

Squad Members					
Categories	PR		White		Totals
	Expected	Actual	Expected	Actual	
None	114.7	177	109.3	107	124
Once	8.0	5	59.0	62	67
Two or Three	14.9	11	110.1	114	125
More Than Three	3.4	8	25.6	21	29
Totals		41		304	345

$$\chi^2 = 9.87^{**}$$

$$df = 3$$

(** .025 level)

TABLE 2a: Frequency Which Black Squad Leaders Reported They Praised Their Puerto Rican and White Squad Members

Categories	Squad Members				Totals
	Puerto Rican		White		
	Expected	Actual	Expected	Actual	
Never	8.09	9	19.91	19	28
One or More Times	4.91	4	12.09	13	17
Totals		13		32	45

$$\chi^2 = .077$$

$$df = 1$$

TABLE 2b-1: Frequency With Which Black and White Squad Leaders Reported They Praised Their White Squad Members

Categories	Squad Leaders				Totals
	Black		White		
	Expected	Actual	Expected	Actual	
Never	12.0	19	114.0	107	126
One or More	20.0	13	190.0	197	210
Totals		32		304	336

$$\chi^2 = 6.22^{**}$$

$$df = 1$$

(** .025 level)

TABLE 2b-2: Frequency With Which Black and White Squad Leaders Reported They Praised Their Puerto Rican Squad Members

Categories	Squad Leaders				Totals
	Black		White		
	Expected	Actual	Expected	Actual	
Never	6.3	9	19.7	17	26
One or More	6.7	4	21.3	24	28
Totals		13		41	54

$$\chi^2 = 1.97$$

$$df = 1$$

TABLE 3: Frequency With Which White Squad Leaders Reported Their Black, Puerto Rican and White Squad Members Were Uncertain About What They Were To Do

Squad Members							
Categories	Black		Puerto Rican		White		Totals
	Expected	Actual	Expected	Actual	Expected	Actual	
Never	131.95	148	26.12	26	198.93	183	357
One or More Times	65.05	49	12.88	13	98.07	114	176
Totals		197		39		297	533

$$\chi^2 = 9.78^{**}$$

$$df = 2$$

Uncertainty

Question 3 asks the squad leader how often he felt the squad member had been uncertain or undecided as to what he was to do using the same response categories indicated previously. Table 3 reveals a significant difference ($\chi^2=9.78$, $df=2$) in the actual and expected frequencies with which white squad leaders reported their black, Puerto Rican, and white squad members were uncertain or undecided about their assignments. Paired comparisons indicate that the difference arose because white leaders reported their white squad members as uncertain or undecided more frequently than expected and stated their black members were "never" uncertain or undecided more often than expected (Table 3-1); no differences occurred in their responses when blacks were compared to Puerto Ricans or Puerto Ricans contrasted with whites.

Additional analyses indicate no differences in the actual and expected frequencies with which black squad leaders reported their Puerto Ricans and whites were uncertain (Table 3a) or between black and white leaders' reports about the uncertainty of their white (Table 3b-1) or Puerto Rican (Table 3b-2) subordinates.

Avoiding Failure vs. Looking For Opportunity

Question 4 asks the squad leaders to indicate which of the following the squad member had been most concerned with: avoiding failure (playing it safe), looking for sound opportunities to show what he could do, both of these equally, not particularly concerned about either. Since it does not seem reasonable to assume that all four of these responses reflect the same psychological dimension (i.e., lie on a single scale continuum), only data relating to the first two (avoiding failure, looking for sound opportunities) were used for this chi square analysis.

Reference to Table 4 indicates that white squad leaders did not discriminate significantly among their white, black, and Puerto Rican subordinates in responding to the first two parts of Question 4.

Table 4a indicates that black squad leaders did not discriminate significantly between their white and Puerto Rican subordinates in responding to the first two parts of Question 4.

Table 4b-1 and 4b-2 indicate no significant discrimination by black squad leaders in comparison with white squad leaders in their responses to the first two parts of Question 4 for either their white or their Puerto Rican subordinates. (Due to the unusually small expected cell frequencies our data produced for Table 4b-2 and the fact that chi square gives a rather poor approximation under these conditions, Fisher's exact test was used.)

Friendliness of Relationship

Question 5 asked the squad leader to indicate how well he got along with (was friendly with) each subordinate by checking a point on a "best possible" to a "poorest possible" continuum of 1-25 scale values ("best possible" = 1).

Table 5 indicates there was little difference in the level of the mean response whether the white leader was describing his relations with white, black, or Puerto Rican subordinates. This mean response level was about 10, approximately three scale units above the printed scale midpoint of 13.

Black leaders gave a mean scale value response of 8.48 to their white subordinates and a mean response of 10.99 to their Puerto Rican subordinates, however, this difference was not statistically significant. It certainly would have been had it persisted with a larger sample of responses for Puerto Ricans¹.

¹T tests were used to test data relating to Hypotheses 5-7. The differences in standard deviations for the squad leader ratings were not statistically significant.

TABLE 3-1: Frequency With Which White Squad Leaders Reported Their Black and White Squad Members Were Uncertain About What They Were to Do.

Categories	Squad Members				Totals
	Black		White		
	Expected	Actual	Expected	Actual	
Never	132	148	199	183	331
One or More Times	65	49	98	114	163
Totals		197		297	494

$$\chi^2 = 9.18^{**}$$

$$df = 1$$

TABLE 3-2: Frequency With Which White Squad Leaders Reported Their Black and Puerto Rican Squad Members Were Uncertain About What They Were to Do

Categories	Squad Members				Totals
	Black		PR		
	Expected	Actual	Expected	Actual	
Never	145.2	148	28.8	26	174
One or More	51.8	49	10.2	13	62
Totals		197		39	236

$$\chi^2 = .84$$

$$df = 1$$

TABLE 3-3: Frequency With Which White Squad Leaders Reported Their Puerto Rican and White Squad Members Were Uncertain About What They Were to Do

Squad Members					
Categories	PR		White		Totals
	Expected	Actual	Expected	Actual	
Never	24.3	26	184.7	183	209
One or More	14.7	13	112.3	114	127
Totals		39		297	336

$$\chi^2 = .18$$

$$df = 1$$

TABLE 3a: Frequency With Which Black Squad Leaders Reported Their Puerto Rican and White Squad Members Were Uncertain About What They Were to Do

Squad Members					
Categories	Puerto Rican		White		Totals
	Expected	Actual	Expected	Actual	
Never	7.14	9	17.86	16	25
One or More Times	4.86	3	12.14	14	17
Totals		12		30	42

$$\chi^2 = 1.67$$

$$df = 1$$

TABLE 3b-1: Frequency With Which Black and White Squad Leaders Reported Their White Squad Members Were Uncertain About What They Were to Do

Squad Leaders					
Categories	Black		White		Totals
	Expected	Actual	Expected	Actual	
Never	18.8	16	180.7	183	199
One or More	11.7	14	116.3	114	128
Totals		30		297	327

$$\chi^2 = .51$$

$$df = 1$$

TABLE 3b-2: Frequency With Which Black and White Squad Leaders Reported Their Puerto Rican Squad Members Were Uncertain About What They Were to Do

Categories	Squad Leaders				Totals
	Black		White		
	Expected	Actual	Expected	Actual	
Never	8.2	9	26.8	26	35
One or More	3.8	3	12.2	13	16
Totals		12		39	51

$$\chi^2 = .04$$

$$df = 1$$

TABLE 4: Frequency With Which White Squad Leaders Reported Their Black, Puerto Rican and White Squad Members Were Concerned With Playing It Safe Versus Looking For Opportunities to Prove Themselves

Categories	Squad Members						Totals
	Black		Puerto Rican		White		
	Expected	Actual	Expected	Actual	Expected	Actual	
Avoid Failure	64.21	60	11.11	12	108.67	112	184
Look for Opportunities	39.79	44	6.89	16	67.33	64	114
Totals		104		18		176	298

$$\chi^2 = 1.17$$

$$df = 2$$

TABLE 4a: Frequency With Which Black Squad Leaders Reported Their Puerto Rican and White Squad Members Were Concerned With Playing It Safe Versus Looking for Opportunities to Prove Themselves

Categories	Squad Members				Totals
	Puerto Rican		White		
	Expected	Actual	Expected	Actual	
Avoid Failure	3.40	7	13.60	13	20
Look for Opportunities	1.60	1	6.40	4	5
Totals		8		17	25

$$\chi^2 = .011$$

$$df = 1$$

TABLE 4b-1: Frequency With Which Black and White Squad Leaders Reported Their White Squad Members Were Concerned With Playing It Safe Versus Looking For Opportunities to Prove Themselves

Categories	Squad Leaders				Totals
	Black		White		
	Expected	Actual	Expected	Actual	
Avoid Failure	11.0	13	114.0	112	125
Look for Opportunity	6.0	4	62.0	64	68
Totals		17		176	193

$$\chi^2 = .64$$

$$df = 1$$

TABLE 4b-2: Frequency With Which Black and White Squad Leaders Reported Their Puerto Rican Squad Members Were Concerned With Playing It Safe Versus Looking For Opportunities to Prove Themselves

Categories	Black		White		Totals
	Expected	Actual	Expected	Actual	
Avoid Failure	5.8	7	13.2	12	19
Look for Opportunity	2.2	1	4.8	6	7
Total		8		18	26

Due to "small" expected cell frequencies ($2 E_i$'s < 5) X^2 gives a rather poor approximation. Consequently, "Fisher's exact test" was used. In this case, it involves finding the probabilities of

	Black	White
Actual	7	12
Observed	1	6

and

	Black	White
Actual	8	11
Observed	0	7

The result is

$$P = .274 \text{ (not significant)}$$

Black leaders reported a significantly better average relationship with white subordinates than did white squad leaders (mean values of 8.48 to 10.13). There was no difference between black and white leaders' reported relationship with Puerto Rican squad members.

Understanding of Subordinate by Leader

Question 6 asked the squad leader to indicate how well he understands each subordinate and his needs by use of the same type of scale as for Question 5 above ("Completely" = 1).

Table 6 shows that the mean response patterns are very similar to those obtained for Question 5. White leaders give almost the same mean level, approximately 10.5, of response to their white, black, and Puerto Rican Subordinates.

Black leaders did not discriminate significantly between their white and their Puerto Rican subordinates.

Though black leaders gave higher "understanding" mean responses to both their white and Puerto Rican subordinates than did white leaders, the differences were not statistically significant.

Evaluation of Subordinate Performance

Question 7 asked the squad leader to rate each subordinate's performance by use of the same type of 25 degree scale as for Questions 5 and 6 (highest performance = 1).

Table 7 indicates white leaders gave a significantly higher mean rating to their black subordinates (9.63), than to their white subordinates (10.83).

Black leaders gave approximately the same mean performance ratings (11.5) to both their white and Puerto Rican subordinates.

Black leaders gave slightly lower mean performance ratings than white leaders to both their white and Puerto Rican subordinates, but these differences were not statistically significant.

TABLE 5: Black and White Squad Leaders' Perceptions Concerning How Well They Get Along With Their Squad Members

Squad Leaders	Squad Members											
	Black			Puerto Rican			White			Total		
	N	\bar{X}	S	N	\bar{X}	S	N	\bar{X}	S	N	\bar{X}	S
Black				13	10.99	4.2	31	8.48	5.2	44	9.23	5.1
White	200	9.56	4.0	41	10.			1.13	4.1	544	9.97	4.1
Total	200	9.56	4.0	54	10.			97	4.2	588	9.91	4.2

Black Squad Leaders Getting Along With Puerto Rican vs. white squad members t equals 1.51

Black Squad Leaders In Comparison With White Squad Leaders Getting Along With:

Puerto Rican squad members t equals .76

white squad members t equals 2.07*

White Squad Leaders Getting Along With:

black vs. Puerto Rican squad members t equals 1.82

black vs. white squad members t equals 1.54

Puerto Rican vs. white squad members t equals .99

TABLE 6: Black and White Squad Leaders' Perceptions Concerning How Well They Understand Their Squad Members and Their Needs

Squad Leaders	Squad Members											
	Black			Puerto Rican			White			Total		
	N	\bar{X}	S	N	\bar{X}	S	N	\bar{X}	S	N	\bar{X}	S
Black				13	10.53	4.2	31	9.71	5.5	44	9.95	5.2
White	200	10.46	4.8	41	11.22	4.0	303	10.84	4.7	544	10.73	4.7
Total	200	10.46	4.8	54	11.05	4.0	334	10.74	4.8	588	10.67	4.7

Black Squad Leaders Understanding Puerto Rican vs. white squad members t equals .471

Black Squad Leaders In Comparison With White Squad Leaders Understanding:

Puerto Rican squad members t equals .53

white squad members t equals 1.25

White Leaders Understanding:

black vs. Puerto Rican squad members t equals .94

black vs. white squad members t equals .88

Puerto Rican vs. white squad members t equals .14

TABLE 7: Black and White Squad Leaders'
Performance Ratings of Their Squad Members

Squad Leaders	Squad Members											
	Black			Puerto Rican			White			Total		
Black				13	11.45	4.5	31	11.58	4.7	44	11.54	4.6
White	200	9.63	4.7	41	10.22	5.5	301	10.83	4.9	542	10.34	4.9
Total	200	9.63		54	10.52	5.3	332	10.90	4.9	586	10.43	4.9

Black Squad Leaders' Performance Ratings of Puerto Rican vs. white squad members
t equals .08

Black Squad Leaders' Performance Ratings In Comparison With White Squad Leaders'
Performance Ratings of:

Puerto Rican squad members t equals .72
white squad members t equals .81

White Squad Leaders' Performance Ratings of:

black vs. Puerto Rican squad members t equals .71
black vs. white squad members t equals 2.72***
Puerto Rican vs. white squad members t equals .73

CONCLUSION

Using the five percent level of significance as our minimum criterion for rejection of our null hypotheses, we were able to reject the following specific null hypothesis sub-parts:

No significant difference between the frequencies with which white squad leaders report that they reprimand white and black squad members (they gave proportionately more reprimands to white than to black members)

No significant difference between the frequencies with which white squad leaders report that they praise white and black squad members (they gave proportionately more praise to white than to black members)

No significant difference between the frequencies with which white squad leaders report that they praise white and Puerto Rican squad members (they used the "more than three times" category dramatically more with their Puerto Rican than with their white members)

No significant difference between the frequencies with which black squad leaders in comparison with white squad leaders report that they praise white squad members (white squad leaders gave proportionately more praise to white squad members than did black squad leaders)

No significant difference between the frequencies with which white squad leaders report uncertainty on the part of white and black squad members (they report their white squad members as being proportionately more uncertain than their black members)

No significant difference in the "getting along with squad members" scores reported by black squad leaders in comparison with white squad leaders for their white squad members (black squad leaders reported getting along with white squad members proportionately better than white squad leaders)

No significant difference in the performance rating scores reported by white squad leaders for their black and white squad members (they rated the performance of their black squad members proportionately higher than the performance of their white members)

We see that white squad leaders gave proportionately more reprimands to their white subordinates, but, also, gave them proportionately more praise. In addition, they gave their black subordinates proportionately better performance ratings than they gave to their white members. Could it be that white squad leaders were maintaining a certain added "distance" from their black subordinates and were handling them with "special care?" Did they report that their white

squad members were proportionately more uncertain due to better knowledge of their feelings, or because white members really were more uncertain due to the Corps' current stress on racial equity, or really were more uncertain due to wholly different causes?

We find white squad leaders apparently "singling out" certain of their Puerto Rican squad members for proportionately heavier doses of praise. Is this another attempt to handle a minority group with "special care" or does it reflect an overaction to an incorrect negative stereotype?

On the other hand, we find black squad leaders reporting that they get along with white subordinates proportionately better than white squad leaders report that they get along with white subordinates. Are black squad leaders "going out of their way" to make their relations with members of the other race under their authority appear free from discrimination?

We do find that white squad leaders gave proportionately more praise to white squad members than did black squad leaders, but this is the only finding that would support the simplistic assumption that such squad leaders in the Marine Corps at this time will openly express negative racial stereotyping in behaviors relating to their official duties.

APPENDIX A

Selected Period Questionnaire Questions For Squad Leader About Individual Squad Member.

1. How often did you reprimand or call this man down last period? (Check one.)

- (1a) _____ never (3a) _____ 2 or 3 times (5a) _____ several times
(2a) _____ once (4a) _____ 4 or 5 times (6a) _____ many times

2. How often did you praise this man last period? (Check one.)

- (1a) _____ never (3a) _____ 2 or 3 times (5a) _____ several times
(2a) _____ once (4a) _____ 4 or 5 times (6a) _____ many times

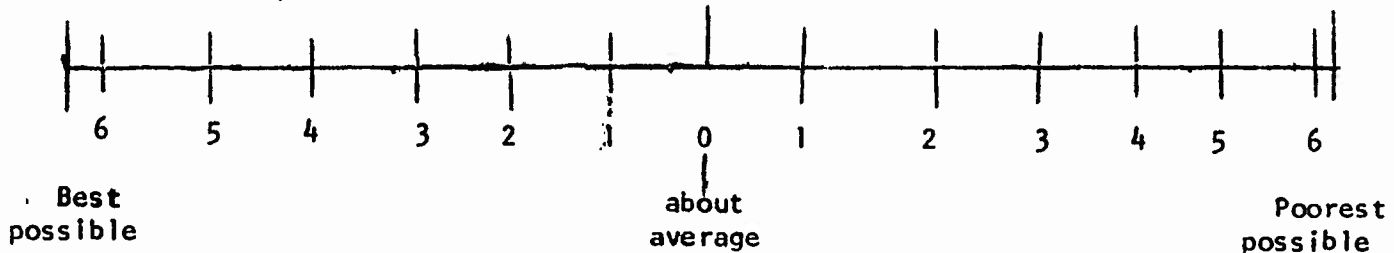
3. How often was this man uncertain or undecided as to what he was to do last period? (Check one.)

- (1a) _____ never (3a) _____ 2 or 3 times (5a) _____ several times
(2a) _____ once (4a) _____ 4 or 5 times (6a) _____ many times

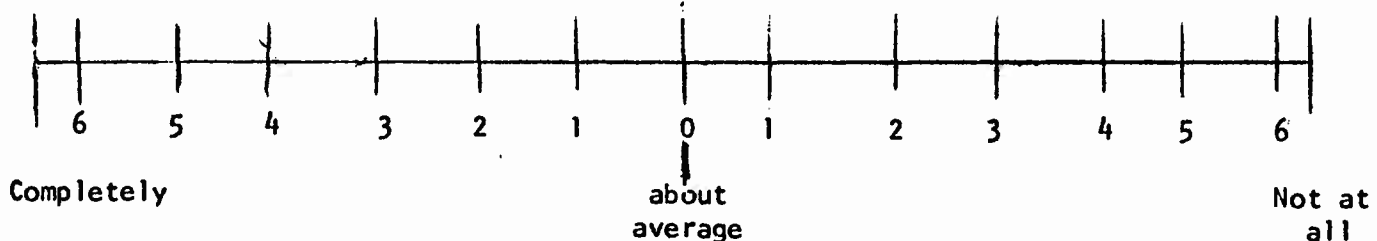
4. I would describe this man as a person most concerned last period with:
(Check one.)

- (1a) _____ avoiding failure (playing it safe)
(2a) _____ looking for sound opportunities to show what he could do
(3a) _____ both of these equally
(4a) _____ not particularly concerned about either

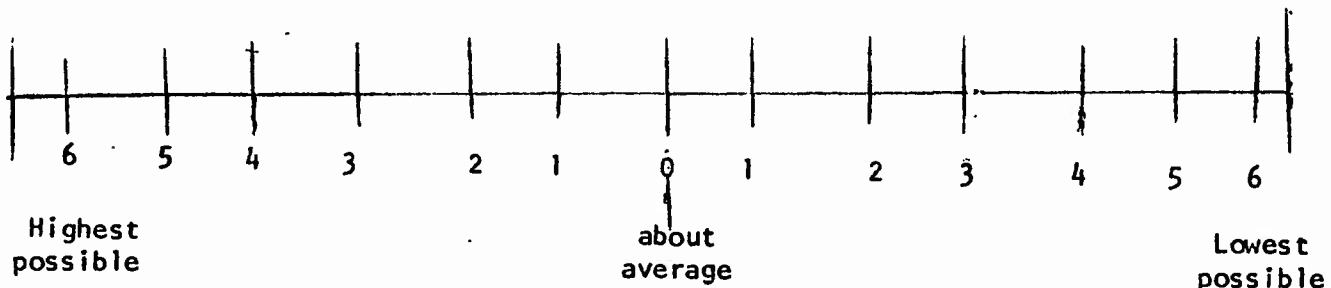
5. As of now, how well do you get along with this man (how friendly are you with each other)?



6. As of now, how well do you understand him and his needs (his problems, what's important to him)?



7. Rate this man's performance last period.



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